1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups. 592 [614] [551]

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit. 592 596 [423] [591]

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods. [178] 162

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2] [175]

[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents [(I), 39–41]. The Havasupai sex ratio is 124.0 males to 100 females; in 1905 it was 145, in 1909, 151. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

COMPOSITION OF POPULATION, NOVEMBER 1, 1919

Age	Males	Females	Age	Males	Females
1	5	5	38	1	2
2	4	1	36	..	1
3	6	2	38	1	..
4	..	1	39	8	2
5	2	2	41	..	1
6	..	1	43	1	1
7	6	7	44	6	1
8	2	2	45	1	..
9	3	2	47	1	..
10	2	2			
11	..	3	48	1	..
12	1	1	49	1	4
13	1	2	50	..	1
14	..	3	53	..	1
15	2	1	54	2	1
16	2	1	55	1	2
17	2	..	59	2	1
19	...	2	64	1	..
20	1	1	67	1	..
21	3	..	69	3	3
22	1	1	70	..	1
23	1	1	71	2	..
24	..	1	74	1	..
25	2	..	75	..	1
26	..	1	79	1	3
27	4	2	83	1	1
28	1	..	85	..	1
29	4	..	90	..	1
30	2	..	92	1	..
32	1	1	94	..	1
34	3	3	Totals	98	79

There are forty-two camps, or family units, in the village, which would give an average of 4.2 persons to the family, or adding nineteen women to allow for the shortage, 4.7 persons. It is difficult to estimate the number of families exactly,[1] because their composition is constantly changing, particularly by way of merging into larger family groups. At any rate these figures agree fairly well with the size of our own family, and with those of the Pueblos with an average of barely five, excepting Zuñi, where there are 7.5 per family.[2]

[1] In 1776 Garcés estimated that the number did not exceed thirty-four (Coues, 345).
[2] Kroeber, (1), 129–134.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 582 836 848 Havasupai families' averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet, in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 [187] No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 746 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 827 753 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much. Should she hear a hawk (*ádjúdá*) cry, her child will have the hawk's spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

Hilliff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

159 the office became unbearably hot and stuffy, I took my work to the shade of the cottonwood in front of our cottage, while Vesnor sat in the hammock until needed. I was aware that he was regarding me with a puzzled expression, but was unprepared for the question he asked, "You got man?"

"No."

"Why you no catch 'em?"

"Too busy. I've never had time."

"Um-m-m," he murmured. He couldn't figure it out. There [162] were so many more Havasupai men than women that the latter were at a premium. When a girl reached the age of fourteen or [512] fifteen there were such numbers of suitors pressing their claims that to remain single was unthinkable. Yet here was a white woman who did not want a man. It was beyond Vesnor's understanding.

I took my turn at questioning, wanting a glimpse of his past. What put those deep lines in his face and that somber look in his eyes? No doubt he had witnessed the bloody deeds of the old chief Navaho, who had recently died; deeds that had won the acclaim of the people and made him their head chief. But Vesnor had no thought of revealing his past and knew exactly when to quit answering questions and substitute, "No savvy." So weeks slipped by without my learning much of what went on in his mind, until one day he lifted a corner of the veil—and left me more puzzled than I had been before.

159 The thermometer in the shaded center of the cottonwood regis-
154 tered one hundred and seventeen degrees that afternoon while I worked in my office. Vesnor, comfortable and at ease, occupied his usual chair near the door. His eyes shone with a new eagerness, and his countenance brightened with a thought that, sooner or later, I knew he would express.

Suddenly he asked his question, "You savvy Jesus?"

"Yes," I said, "I savvy Him."

"Long time I sick. Think maybe die. Indians come, look, say pretty quick die. No eat. No sleep. Just sick—plenty!"

For a long moment he sat there, his somber eyes on space, but

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of need and usage (Spier 1928, 231; Service 1947, 364). 464 166 [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village. [431]

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topecoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reservation. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon. 361 162 166 161 166

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available. [464]

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees, of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources 434

582 had no similar obligation to him. The parents of the latter bride expected
583 and received a gift from her husband. Logically, it appears that her uncle, D, should have given something to C's father in lieu of a marriage gift from her groom, or should have made some settlement with A in compensation for the $50, but if he did it was not known by present informants.

This marriage was characterized by interfamilial exchange of two girls of quite different situations in their respective families, a factor which seemingly voided one of the usual features of exchange marriages, that is, absence of marriage gifts.

There are a number of marriages between two pairs of siblings, cousins, or other relatives which were not contracted as exchange marriages. These usually took place at different times, sometimes several years apart, the second marriage apparently being contracted independently of the first. Such marriages may occur with some frequency merely because the members of any particular kin group are closely related to all but a few other kinship groups.

582 No form of preferential marriage between persons in particular kinship categories exists at present, nor is any such form reported for an earlier period. The adoption and use of surnames by the last few generations makes it impossible for families to overlook certain paternal connections. Recognition of close maternal relatives, together with a continuing reduction in the number of family names occurring within the tribe through the operation of certain biological laws and sociological practices, will further limit the number of unrelated, marriageable persons in coming generations. If the Havasupai retain their identity as a tribal unit, it is almost certain that these factors will make necessary an increase in intertribal marriages. Along with this, however, it is possible that some form of preferential marriage between persons of certain relationships may be developed.

Availability and Age of Marriage Partners

Imbalance in Sex Ratio

162 Imbalance in the sex ratio exists at birth and is significant in later age brackets relative both to availability and age of possible marriage partners.

Spier (1928, 209) found twice as many men as women between the ages of 20 and 45 in the 1918 population. While this imbalance apparently had developed over the previous two decades, he pointed out that for the total Havasupai population, the 1905 ratio was 145 males to 100 females, and the 1906 ratio was 151 males to 100 females, indicating a previous imbalance in an unspecified age group or in the total population. He reported that the "Thirteenth Census (1910) gives [an] abnormally high sex ratio in favor of

the males for all the Colorado River tribes." (Spier observed that Hrdlička, on the contrary, had found in the 1900 census an excess of females over males after age 55 among all Indian tribes.) 162

Recorded data for the past decade, and data obtained for about a decade immediately preceding it, reveal a significantly higher proportion of Havasupai males in the ratio at birth, with a consistently higher infant and early childhood mortality rate for males. In the 1950 population below age 10, the group total was 55 males and 28 females, almost exactly two males to each female. Between the ages of 10 and 50, a nearly balanced sex ratio exists in all age brackets. [163] [165]

Spier (1928, 209) found that above and below the ages of 20 and 45 the sexes were nearly equal in numbers in 1918, and equality in these groups has continued to the present. (The individuals whose ages were below 20 in 1918 would have been 28 to 48 in 1950, and those over 45 would have been over 73 in 1950).

Among possible causes of excess in males among the Havasupai, female infanticide must be ruled out, because the inequality did not appear above or below the age group in which the excess appeared in the 1918 population, and since that time the sexes have been equal in number at that age. Although a few young women were stolen now and then by enemy tribes in past times, the number kidnapped in a given generation probably was insignificant, and such raids would have ceased before the turn of the century. Thus, it would have no bearing on the 20 to 45 age bracket of 1918. A cause which suggests itself for the particular group in question is a measles epidemic which reduced the 1903 population of 237 to 177 in 1905--if, for some reason, fatalities were much greater among females than among males. Unfortunately, we have no record of individual deaths for that time. [165]

Above the age of 50, the longevity and survival rate of males over females is marked, but it should be noted that the 1950 population above that age is comprised almost entirely of the group Spier observed at the ages of 20 to 45, and which, in 1918, had a male-female ratio of two to one. Thus, the present imbalance in the older age levels developed while these generations were passing through earlier age brackets, and is not a recent development, except that the age ratio has become more marked in favor of males as the group advanced in age. Spier (1928, 209) suggests possible loss in childbirth to explain the discrepancy noted by him. Available data reveal that, despite the larger number of males born, by the age of 20 the sex ratio has reached a balance throughout the last 30 year period and that, in the group now between 20 and 50, it has maintained that balance. This may support Spier's thesis, since it is this age group that has had the first improved medical care in childbirth and various feminine disorders.

Imbalance in the sex ratio is a problem for further study. Records of
● 162 births and infant deaths I obtained are complete only for recent years, because written records were not available for earlier generations and such data, recited from memory, are incomplete and subject to error at best.

Age Differences of Spouses

000 Leaving the subject of imbalance in the sex ratio for a moment, it seems in order to examine recorded data showing ages at marriage and the age difference between spouses in the Havasupai population. But first, a word concerning the cultural ideal.

Spier's informant, Sinyella, said that parents formerly sought postpone-
582 ment of marriage until their sons were young adults (Spier, 1928, 223). Sinyella himself was 25 at his marriage, an age which parents approved. "The girls should be the same," Sinyella said, "perhaps 17 years old."

Spier brands as a fallacy the opinion prevalent during the time of his field work that young people of previous generations married later in life. Most informants at the present time insist that in earlier days marriageable age was 25 or 30 for women and 35 or 40 for men, but this is probably spurious. Ages given by Sinyella appear more reasonable, and some marriages at even earlier ages probably occurred in former times just as they do now. The reason given for such late marriage as that quoted above for former times is that younger people were not prepared ("did not know enough") to take care of themselves and to teach their children. This seems unlikely in view of a couple's residence with one set of parents or the other, and the active role normally taken by grandparents in the rearing of grandchildren.

It was considered ideal that a husband be his wife's senior by at least three or four and up to seven or eight years. In practice, little heed was paid to this, the age difference sometimes being less or much greater. It was likely to be much greater if a man's second or third wife had not been married previously. Seniority could also favor the female. In a few marriages of today the wife is older by one or more years, the greatest age difference being seven years.

Because marriage records are incomplete, the mean age at marriage for either sex has not been determined for the total Havasupai population at any point in time, including the present. However, data concerning a substantial majority of the population can be produced for the last decade, and Spier's records furnish a reliable basis for a long view of factors which appear to be operative relative to age and availability of marriage partners.

Only one source earlier in date than Spier's report was available, that
582 being a marriage record book at the subagency in Supai in which a former
127 agent had recorded nine marriages occurring from 1910 to 1914. For seven

informants and only under rather pointed questioning. While relationship prohibits marriage between first cousins in nearly all cases, second and third cousins occasionally marry, and it appears that fourth and fifth cousins marry with some frequency, being only vaguely, if at all, aware that they are related. 582

Nearly all women are able to marry if they wish to do so. In the 1955 population, there were only nine unmarried women over the age of 30. Two of them, both under 35 had never been married. One of these two apparently made no sexual alliances, and was unusually shy and withdrawn; she might have considered Havasupai men ineligible, inasmuch as she was reputed to be a devout Christian. The other woman, who in 1955 appeared to be too closely related to nearly all males eligible in other respects, and who was economically self-supporting and better educated than most of the men, married after that time to a man equal in education and eight years her senior. 589

Two of the nine women mentioned above were divorced. One of these has had three sons, living in patrilocal residence, to care for her, and the other, divorced for barrenness, might have had a difficult time remarrying. (However, it should be noted that two younger women, divorced for the same reason, have remarried.) [586]

The remaining five women were widows. The youngest, age 44, had been alone only three years. The next youngest, age 46 was regarded as a continuous trouble maker, and some informants said that her deceased husband regretted marrying her. The older widows were 53, 57, and 86; all of them had close relatives to help them economically.

By contrast, in the 1955 population 18 men over 30 years of age were unmarried. This number included six widowers, seven divorced men, and five men who had never been married, towo of whom were considered "odd," while another was blind. Two of the 18 men were under 35 years of age. Seven were between 30 and 43, and the remaining 11 were between 53 and 80. Nine of the 18 lived alone or in households having no woman, some of them caring for dependent children, grandchildren, or other homeless children more distantly related. Eight men apparently had no permanent residence, some spending part of their time in all male households apd some working temporarily or permanently off the reservation where they might live alone or with relatives.

Regarding the 1955 population as the present, then, there are twice as many men as women of unmarried status. It is doubtful that relationship prohibits all 27 individuals from marriage. It appears, instead, that the majority of both men and women in this group refrain from marriage by choice. In all cases it seems to be economically unnecessary. Nearly all of the older persons receive pensions or monetary allotments, and the men 162 589

162 may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although
589 several of them frequently eat with other families.

Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting
582 competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time 13 women and 10 men are married intertribally. These 23 individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from 20 to 80.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

Residence After Marriage

The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary
591 matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two, or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough so that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of 12 married sons being attached to these seven households. Among the 12 extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

596 Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary con-
592 siderably. In one example, three married sons and their aged mother oc-
594 cupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until he had
[591] completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and stepmother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 564 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and [727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs